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Hefne observed the consistently anti-bourgeois trend in German Romanticism, the polemical idealization of peasantry and nobility, the sympathy with the misfit, the bohemian. The political thought of the Romantics thus hostility to the middle class of industry and trade finds its theoretical justification. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the later writings of Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Müller and Görres (who became a romanticist after 1815), is their attack on the free market, on capitalism, as a socially disintegrating force. In 1800 Fichte had asserted, in direct opposition to Kant, that the search for markets was a cause of war, and the interests of peace had sketched an ideal state in which industry was rigidly regulated and foreign trade denied a state monopoly. The Romantics extended his thesis, but were disposed to contribute to the concentration of such power in the hands of the monarch. Instead they proposed a rigid *Ständestaat* in which not only the bourgeoisie held in subjection, but also the power of the monarch is held in check by aristocracy and Church. Their hostility to the growth of power in the monarch was such that it brought them into the sharpest disfavour of practical statesmen like Metternich.

ing produced ideas which have been carried over almost unaltered by modern authoritarianism or by nationalism that could become aggressive, imperialistic. It founded an anti-Marxism for which Wagner was the prophet. George created mythic National-Socialism whose machine ideal of the State was his nationalism. The well-known "Romantic Hut" there is perhaps what Professor Drew has envisaged. It too stems from Mörser and Herder, but it is different. It is not adherents like Hitler. It is Romanticism that holds the romantic society from which is estranged, in which is lost aristocracy nor bourgeoisie, exploit others for its own gratification too, yet humane and kind in its purpose. In 1830's Immermann, novel, Romantic fantasies to the depiction of the horrors of history, or Bettina Breichneis, or Arnim, appeared in the attempt to relieve the pain, the feelings were sustained by the social image. We may say that the social criticism of Friedrich List had also

*The attitude of Germany to the Nazi side is discussed on page 377, in a review of the 1966. Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Unterwelt.*

So far Grove's books have been very badly treated by British and American publishers. They have reproduced them very poorly, or crowded them with arbitrary selections and omissions. His brilliant book, *Die Juden*, was sadly cut in the English edition published by the Dial Press in New York. The Grove Press has now published Melhuus' book, and it is at four guineas, still too high to provide a full account of the volume of the same name published in Berlin in 1932; apart from the crudeness in the sixteen chapters, it is well priced and accompanied by an illuminating introduction by Henry Miller, who is probably the first scholar to have written something of Grove's general approach. The eighty-four illustrations come from the period of the war, when his first book was published. The only serious point against it is that their German captions have been given and printed in short notes on oblique lines, with allusions.















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## REAPING

OLD MEN FORGET? Not all of them entirely. Those who retain their intellectual faculties often develop a dual persona. Bertrand Russell at ninety-five is as fiery a reformer as ever he was, yet can recall old flames with a chilling detachment. Mr. Leonard Woolf is no firebrand, but something of the same dichotomy appears in his tenacity of anti-authoritarian fervour and to quote F. L. Lucas on one of the poets published by the Hogarth Press (Frederic Bekassy) "his gift for being outside and inside himself almost at the same time".

This gift, however valuable to an imaginative artist, can carry Danaan implications for a man of the world, be he colonial civil servant, journalist, husband of a genius, or autobiographer. Born an introspective intellectual (his own phrase, and he believes the intellect to be widely misprised), Mr. Woolf has described how, at various times in a varied life, he has observed himself as a stranger acting a part in a complicated stage play. Such observation, he says, has a curious psychological effect. If you begin to regard yourself objectively, you begin to find that what matters so violently to you subjectively hardly matters at all to the objective you.

A corollary for the autobiographer seems to be that the inward emotions of a near or distant past are more than usually transmuted by the outward eye before they reach the page. Violence one would not expect to survive the years, but warmth itself is also often dissipated. The effect of this detachment has become more marked as Mr. Woolf's autobiography has progressed from its first volume to its fourth.

The titles of the four volumes are not without significance—*Sowing, 1880-1904; Growing, 1904-11; Beginning Again, 1911-18; Downhill all the Way, 1919-39*. The first three describe the autobiographer as child and undergraduate in England, as an increasingly reluctant "imperialist administrator" in Ceylon, and back in England as an anti-imperialist politician and Virginia Woolf's husband. The fourth title introduces a cross-division: it is not that Mr. Woolf sees himself as declining into senility between the wars—he was still under sixty in 1939—but that he sees civilization as plunging in those years from heights into an abyss from which there is no return. Between 1933 and 1939 "civilization was finally destroyed".

The claim on behalf of his generation is modestly put in Mr. Woolf's first volume. In Edwardian Cambridge he and his friends, some of whom were later to form the coterie called "Bloomsbury", helped "in our small way" to start the revolt against Victorianism, against the social, political, religious, moral, intellectual and artistic institutions, beliefs and standards of our fathers and grandfathers. They believed that

everyone was becoming consciously implicated in the struggle between right and wrong, justice and injustice, civilization and barbarism, and that they, the under-twenties of 1904, were in the forefront of the battle to make the world "permanently civilized". By the time Mr. Woolf returned from Ceylon in 1911 the revolution seemed almost complete, politically, socially, artistically. ("To crown all, night after night we flocked to Covent Garden, entranced by a new art... the Russian Ballet.") Halsey says indeed, "It seemed as though human beings might really be on the brink of becoming civilized."

The non-fulfilment of this hope is one of the threads persisting through the autobiography. It is not to be gainsaid. Nor is the argument that Hitler had much to do with the defeat of hope. (The second half of the fourth volume is entitled "Downhill to Hitler"). But some of Mr. Woolf's patterns are less surely woven. To suggest that those who have grown up since Hitler's war and are not conservatives, fascists or communists "are almost necessarily defeatist" leaves out of account at least two sizable groups which, though hardly optimistic (if that is the obverse of defeatism), have yet not abandoned all hope. Even if he were

Leonard Woolf: *Downhill all the Way*. An autobiography of the years 1919-39. 259pp. Hogarth Press. 35s.

to dismiss as questionable intellectual today's widespread evangelical movement in universities and "Tees", cutting across classes and sects, he should have some fellow feeling for the intelligent agnostic young who are still hard to say, as he quotes his own friends saying more than sixty years ago, that "everyone over twenty-five, with perhaps one or two remarkable exceptions, is 'hopeless'". Mr. Woolf and his friends revolted against the authority and stupidity of the Victorian generation, with, he now recognizes, some naivety and arrogance, and some injustice. Youth today revolts against the authority and stupidity, as it judges, of the generation that allowed not civilization but life itself to be jeopardized in two cataclysmic wars. With the justice of this view Mr. Woolf would not quarrel, provided recognition were given to the efforts of men of good will, among whom he holds an honourable place, to achieve in the between-war years "Peace in our time, O Lord" the title, ironical only in retrospect, of the first half of the new volume.

And was this happy era of the Russian Ballet and the Post-Impressionists, of Shaw and Freud and Einstein, and the first motor cars and aeroplanes, this decade when men in advanced coteries learnt for the first time to call one another by their Christian names (and to call women by theirs, too, if the coterie was advanced enough)—was this Edwardian decade approaching the apogee of civilization, social and political? It was in Ceylon under King Edward that Mr. Woolf as an imperialist administrator was compelled to witness, besides hangings, "the most disgusting and barbarous thing I have ever seen": the flogging of a man with the cat o' nine-tails; it was in the present reign that, revisiting Ceylon after half a century, he observed in the treatment of criminals "some small progress from barbarity to civilization".

The inconsistency is no doubt more apparent than real. But the moments of truth when the autobiographer is not being laudator temporis acti must be weighed against his no less true relation of events recalled from that rose-coloured *temps perdu*. Nostalgia is a fickle guide. Most of the values by which Mr. Woolf's generation set store have their counterparts in the two generations which have passed the age of 25 since he did. *Downhill all the Way* takes up the story of two lives, Mr. Woolf's and his wife's, where *Beginning Again* left off with the end of the First World War—two lives, that is, not confounding the persons, and a third, not dividing the substance of a happy marriage that was to end untidily soon after the volume closes. Mr. Woolf was the editor or literary editor of left-wing journals until at 50 he renounced paid jobs; thereafter he made his living as the better business man of the two in the joint venture of the Hogarth Press. Much of his energy was given to committees of the Fabian Society and the Labour Party, where his experience in the colonial service gave weight to his views on progress towards self-government in far-flung regions of a still more or less cohesive empire. If we accomplished nothing else, we at least for the first time did something to educate our masters. We got a few Labour leaders to take an interest in and understand what was happening in India.

The "we" in this context were "intellectuals", not first-line politicians. Mr. Woolf became, and understandably, disillusioned with promise-breaking political parties, and deeply distrustful of first-line politicians even in his own party. I have never known a vain or more treacherous man than Ramsey [MacDonald].

Lansbury... was one of those sentimental, middle-banded, slightly Pecksniffian good men who mean so well in theory and do so much harm in practice... Nevertheless the under-25s of today who condemn the generation that allowed the second cataclysm of the century would do well to ponder Mr. Woolf's record of the rejected counsels of the intellectuals within the Labour Party. They began with faith in the practicability of the ideals of the League of Nations—a faith frustrated, whether by the party bosses or by democracy itself. And they moved on to an earlier realization than that

The revolution in the fortunes of the Hogarth Press began in 1924, when the Woolfs moved back from Richmond to Bloomsbury. For seven years they had published books, most of them of pamphlet dimensions, mainly for their own pleasure and that of their friends. Mr. Woolf offers a "complete list" of thirty-two titles issued from Hogarth House, distinguishing those which they printed themselves from those entrusted to commercial printers. But, as that eminent publisher-bibliographer Michael Sadleir once remarked, do publisher is his own best bibliographer. That Katherine Mansfield's *Prelude* (1918) is not included in the hand-printed category is merely a slip. There were, however, more than thirty-two books with the Richmond imprint. The *Poems of Frank Prewett* (1921) and of G. H. Luce (1923), and the first and apparently only volume of a "Living Painters" series (*Duncan Grant*, dated 1923), have escaped the count. In placing Roger Fry's

Two Original Woodcuts... the publications of which time appeared, the three or four volumes of the effort made in 1924-25, 1926-27, 1928-29, 1930-31, 1932-33, 1934-35, 1936-37, 1938-39, 1940-41, 1942-43, 1944-45, 1946-47, 1948-49, 1950-51, 1952-53, 1954-55, 1956-57, 1958-59, 1960-61, 1962-63, 1964-65, 1966-67, 1968-69, 1970-71, 1972-73, 1974-75, 1976-77, 1978-79, 1980-81, 1982-83, 1984-85, 1986-87, 1988-89, 1990-91, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97, 1998-99, 2000-01, 2002-03, 2004-05, 2006-07, 2008-09, 2010-11, 2012-13, 2014-15, 2016-17, 2018-19, 2020-21, 2022-23, 2024-25, 2026-27, 2028-29, 2030-31, 2032-33, 2034-35, 2036-37, 2038-39, 2040-41, 2042-43, 2044-45, 2046-47, 2048-49, 2050-51, 2052-53, 2054-55, 2056-57, 2058-59, 2060-61, 2062-63, 2064-65, 2066-67, 2068-69, 2070-71, 2072-73, 2074-75, 2076-77, 2078-79, 2080-81, 2082-83, 2084-85, 2086-87, 2088-89, 2090-91, 2092-93, 2094-95, 2096-97, 2098-99, 2100-01, 2102-03, 2104-05, 2106-07, 2108-09, 2110-11, 2112-13, 2114-15, 2116-17, 2118-19, 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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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